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To do so is only to arouse the suspicions and fears of other governments, and stimulate the building of more and bigger ships by them, and thus to increase the very dangers which it is said must be prevented.

The real reasons back of the new naval program are not far to seek. Most of them are of the kind which the *Outlook* says would be "wrong," and Lord Beresford, "odious." They are found in the professionalism of the navy *personnel*, in the new policy of imperialism, in the growing desire to be "big" like the military powers, and in the spirit of international rivalry necessarily growing therefrom. The reasons put forward on the ground of the necessity of policing the seas for the sake of commerce, and of being ready for "emergencies" in South America, are largely sham, and intelligent people and papers do themselves little credit in becoming sponsors for them.

Editorial Notes.

Venezuela Settlement.

What Lord Cranborne so happily called the "Venezuelan Mess" has at last been put in the way of settlement. Mr. Bowen, acting for Venezuela, reached early last month an agreement with the European powers for the reference of the question of the amount of claims to mixed commissions, of which the President of the United States is authorized to appoint the umpires in case of necessity. The agreement provided for a cash payment of \$27,500 each to Great Britain and Italy, and of \$340,000 to Germany, the only important concession made by Mr. Bowen being in the matter of this latter sum. The allies agreed to return all the ships, both war and merchant, seized during the blockade. This return of the ships, though delayed, has now been completed. The protocol provides that thirty per cent. of the income of the custom houses at La Guayra and Puerto Cabello shall be set aside for the payment of the claims of all the foreign powers to whom Venezuela is indebted. The question whether Great Britain, Germany and Italy, the powers which employed violence against Venezuela, shall be paid before the other creditors, on which the allied powers insisted, but which Mr. Bowen would not concede, goes to the Hague tribunal. The Czar of Russia has been asked to name the members of the Court who shall determine the question. There is universal relief in this country that the unfortunate affair is over without worse entanglements. The English press and people are also glad to be out of what they all declare to have been a disgraceful episode for Great Britain. In Germany the general opinion seems to be that the Kaiser has come out with flying colors, because he succeeded in getting more immediate cash than the others. In France the feeling is that the settlement is a distinct triumph for arbitration and pacific principles. All except Germany concede that the United States has come out of the affair,

so far as she had anything to do with it, without any loss of prestige either moral or political. On the whole, we consider the outcome a distinct triumph for the cause of arbitration. The blockading powers had to concede the reference of the question of preferential treatment to the Hague Court, which they dreaded and were most anxious to shun, on account of their brutal procedure. The various protocols for the adjustment of the claims provide for what are virtually arbitration boards, that is, mixed commissions with provision for an umpire. The principle of brute force has, therefore, on the whole been compelled to yield to the rational principle of arbitration under the compulsion of general public sentiment, and that of pacific international coöperation has also made some real gain, in spite of the early brutalities of the affair.

Alaska Boundary.

In his speech on the opening of Parliament, the 17th of February, King Edward laid special emphasis, in reading, on the words "signed and ratified" in the paragraph referring to the Alaska boundary treaty, showing evident satisfaction that he was able to make such an announcement. Since the selection of the three United States representatives on the commission, a good deal of dissatisfaction has developed both in Great Britain and Canada with the men chosen, and it is rumored that Canada has entered a protest against them. The ground of the objection is that all three of them, Senators Lodge and Turner and Secretary Root, have prejudged the case in such an emphatic way as to make them incapable of judicial impartiality in the investigation of the case. It is reported from Washington that the ratification of the treaty providing for the commission could not have been secured from the Senate except upon the understanding that these men, or those of like opinions on the case, should be appointed on the commission. If this rumor, which is very hard to believe, is true, it puts our government in a most unfortunate light before the civilized world. It makes it almost certain that the whole proceeding will be a sorry farce, and that the new commission — bad enough in any event, since it is to consist of an equal number of men on each side without an umpire — will have no better success than the defunct joint high commission. We shall hope that the case is not as bad as on its face it seems to be, and that the commission will get itself constituted in such shape as to bring the long-standing controversy to a speedy close.

Abatement of Military Spirit.

In its issue for January 31, *Ethics*, an English organ of the Ethical Movement, comments thus on the popular tendencies in European countries towards an abatement of the military spirit and of international hatred:

"We seem to be much nearer to the millennium

to-day, however distant it may still be, than when the hope of many ran so high on the eve of the Hague Conference. At that time the nations as such had no voice in the proceedings, and some of us felt that history did not encourage us to expect much in that direction from crowned heads and the representatives of ambitious capitalism. Recent events in France and Germany seem more hopeful. The new Vice-President of the French Chamber has made a remarkable attack on the militarist system, and this has immediately found a hearty response in the Reichstag. The popular party that is rising to power in nearly every civilized country is bent on the abolition of war and huge armaments. In another week or two the French Senate will be asked to pass a bill that definitely abandons the race with Germany. The French army will be reduced to a level which falls far short of the German army. Some reduction may be hoped for in Germany if the Emperor is not omnipotent. It is this exhausting competition between France and Germany since their last war that has set the pace to the rest of the world. Any considerable relaxation of it must have important consequences. . . . The remarkable and eloquent speech made last week by M. Jean Jaurès, the leader of the Ministerial Socialist party in the French Chamber, has drawn the attention of the whole Continent. Not only was it a statesmanlike declaration of the policy of his party, but also a magnificent plea for the abatement of the military spirit and the desire for revenge upon Germany. It is a notable sign of the change which has come over French opinion that it was possible for a prominent politician to run counter to what was but recently the cherished dream of the country—the re-taking of the lost provinces by force—without a storm of violent and windy indignation being aroused by the Nationalist and reactionary groups. The calm with which the pacific utterances of M. Jaurès were received, coupled with the fact that he had just previously been elected to the office of Vice-President of the Chamber, shows clearly the strength which the evolutionary school of Socialism has acquired, not only among the people, but also in the counsels of the nation. One of the most striking characteristics of the modern Socialist movement on the Continent is its propaganda for international amity. . . . Almost at the same time as M. Jaurès addressed the French Chamber, Herr August Bebel, the leader of the German Social Democrats, was delivering in the Reichstag an equally powerful indictment of militarism and aggressive imperialism, which the *Times* honored with a column report. In a speech lasting three hours, and displaying the high ability with which Professor Mommsen has credited him, the orator surveyed the results of the present policy of the government and clearly traced the depressed condition of Germany, both industrially and as an international Power, to the ambitious designs of the Kaiser. Heavy burdens have been laid upon the nation in the shape of a naval programme too costly for the country to bear, in addition to the drain upon the national resources for the upkeep of the army."

Chamberlain's Visit Over.

Mr. Chamberlain has completed his journey through South Africa and sailed for home. It is not likely that he will ever give the public any detailed statement of his reflections as he passed through the various sections of the desolated region. On the whole, his reception by the Boers was much more friendly, at any rate in appearance, than one would have expected. He showed himself conciliatory, and the people in many places responded with considerable frankness in the same spirit. In other parts, however, they held aloof and manifested a good deal of sullenness. If the press dispatches are to be trusted, Mr. Chamberlain was disappointed and became convinced before his trip was over that it would take a much longer time to bring about reconciliation and good feeling in the country than he had supposed when he went out. That opinion he might easily have formed before he left home, if he had only given due weight to the teachings of history. These he seems largely to have ignored, and to have supposed that a hasty trip through the land which his war had devastated would wipe out to a large degree the bitter memories of the conflict and of the acts of injustice and highhandedness which had preceded it. Reconciliation, after such treatment and the complete taking away of cherished political rights and institutions, is of very slow growth, where it grows at all. Mr. Chamberlain, however much he may have accomplished by his mission, will not live to see the reconciliation to the new order which he desires to bring about. Whether any future English colonial secretary will ever see it will depend not only upon generous treatment of the new colonies by the British government, but also upon general future political conditions, the posture of which no one can forecast at the present time. Mr. Chamberlain's last act before sailing home was the promise of the early release of the Dutch political and military prisoners who are serving terms in Cape Colony for assisting the Boers.

War and Self-Respect.

In an excellent editorial on the Abolition of War, in its issue of February 7th, the *United States Investor*, which believes that the causes of war have always been largely economic, nevertheless declares that the abolition of war will come from a more general and more genuine love of justice and an increase of true self-respect on the part of the nations. Its way of putting the case is somewhat novel:

"War, like unrighteousness in general, will never be abolished by statute. If the end is reached,—as every sane mind must hope that it will be,—it will be by the inculcation of a more general and a more genuine love of justice. A long preliminary work must, we fear, be undertaken before there can be any real guarantee that

war is a thing of the past; and this will be in the nature of increasing the self-respect of the various nations of Christendom. This may sound paradoxical, as most wars are supposed to emphasize the self-respect of the participants. There could not be a greater mistake. The self-respect thus evidenced is generally of a pinchbeck sort; it is the kind of self-respect that men have to talk about and fight for, in order to convince themselves that they have any of the quality at all. The true self-respect of a nation — the kind that leads it to act with moderation and justice — is the dignified product of the care, ingenuity and discretion which even the humblest toiler has to exercise in abundance in pursuance of his daily work. If every able-bodied member of Christendom were allowed the untrammelled right to the productive activity which his genius and his natural opportunities warranted, not one of the civilized nations would be under the present necessity of obtaining markets by the display of force. It is not the refinement of the arts of war that the world needs, but the refinement of the methods of industry and commerce. To sum up in a word our theory regarding the means whereby the abolition of war will be effected (if it ever is effected), we should say that it would be by refining and perfecting our notions regarding the distribution of commodities. The science of production is well understood. The nations of the earth are, however, as a rule in gross darkness as regards the science of distribution. And that is where the bulk of the trouble lies to-day in the matter of international relations."

The Cost of Battleships.

The following letter by Lucia Ames Mead, recently published in the Boston *Advertiser*, gives in an impressive way facts about the enormous cost of present day battleships which need to be repeated day and night in the ears of a public which are either thoughtlessly shouting continually for a bigger navy or are indifferent while these devourers of the people's resources are being built one after another:

"A statement of mine, to the effect that one first-class battleship costs as much as all the ninety-four buildings of Harvard University, was criticised in your paper some time ago. I replied, and explained what data I had for this statement. It was again questioned. I now write to give you unimpeachable evidence that my assertion was not only true, but was an extreme under-statement.

"The Secretary of Harvard University, Mr. J. G. Hart, assures me that the valuation of the ninety-four buildings and lands of the university is \$5,300,000, and that your question as to whether this was a correct valuation was probably due to your consideration of certain private expensive dormitories which, as they do not belong to the university, are not included among the ninety-four.

"On application to the Navy Department at Washington, I have received official information that the 'Oregon,' which is our most expensive battleship to date, cost \$6,575,032.76. It is estimated that future battleships will not greatly exceed this in cost.

"I am informed from another source that some foreign battleships have cost more. From these figures it is evident that not only does the 'Oregon' equal the valuation of all the buildings, but also all the land of Harvard University, and a sum in addition equal to the material equipment of a small college.

"This appalling expenditure is for a vessel that may be turned into old junk as speedily as was the 'Maine,' or, if it is not destroyed, may by some new invention be rendered obsolete within ten years.

"Let those who put their trust 'in reeking tube and iron shard' as the nation's best defense, be sure that they count the cost, and realize that every new boat built anywhere means another to defy it and to match it in every other land, and that while Europe doubled her expenditure for armaments in the thirty years before the Boer war, no nation has thereby gained one whit more security."

The Time for Arbitration.

F. P. Sargent, United States Commissioner of Immigration, has recently made some very sensible remarks, published in the *Star* of San Francisco, about the time when arbitration in industrial disputes should be proposed:

"I have noticed in nearly all of the disputes between labor and capital that when a strike has been declared and all negotiations between employer and employee are broken off, there comes the cry, 'arbitrate.' It has been my belief that the time to talk arbitration is when the parties to the controversy reach that point when they cannot agree; when committees representing the employees have exhausted every possible argument in defense of their contentions before the officer representing the employer, then is when the proposition to arbitrate should be offered and urged as the best way to a settlement. At this time I can imagine that an employer would be more inclined to discuss the propriety of leaving the matter in dispute to a third person for a decision than a few days after, when his employees have quit his services and he finds his business at a standstill and himself suffering great losses. When the relationship of years has not been broken off, is it not natural to suppose that the employer would see things differently and be in a better frame of mind to listen to the advice of friends than when in the midst of a bitter conflict?

"Arbitration being a peaceable measure, it should be proposed in times of peace to be most effective. I have in mind instances where war had been declared and wage-earners have engaged in a strike, when, after several days, a powerful influence has been brought to bear and a settlement effected by arbitration. But the most effective settlement, and where the greatest good has been accomplished, came when arbitration was invoked before the strike had been declared. I would strongly advise that every member of organized labor advocate arbitration whenever the usual methods of mutual conference fail, and not to wait until after a strike is on and then give opportunity for criticism, because of the prevailing opinion that no arbitration was desired on the part of the employee. In my opinion, it is a poor policy to strike a man down and then suggest peaceable understandings."

**Frederic Passy
Honored.**

Frederic Passy, the distinguished French apostle of peace, has just been named by the French Council of Ministers "Commander of the Legion of Honor." Commenting on this action of the State Council, the *Revue de la Paix*, organ of the French International Arbitration Society, says:

"Our President has just been raised to the dignity of 'Commander of the Legion of Honor.' We shall not attempt, after what has been said by the journals of France and of the world, to set forth again the value and significance of this homage rendered to a man who has, by his immense labor, his moral grandeur and his splendid eloquence, made himself worthy to be considered by all the embodiment of the sublime idea of peace. We simply wish to point out that it is to a peacemaker, a champion of arbitration, a gifted apostle of this cause, that this national honor has been given. The official text of the document in which the nomination of Frederic Passy was made leaves no doubt in this regard, as the innumerable comments in the organs of public opinion have rightly inferred. Frederic Passy, whose beneficent activity does not cease to multiply and extend itself in all directions, is received everywhere he goes with increasing tokens of admiration and respect. This official consecration of his high mission, in addition to that of the people, is to be noted as a sign of the times. The illustrious old man has the glory, the profound joy of seeing the ignorance, the indifference, the hostility of both rulers and people, which have attended his utterances, gradually dissipated, and humanity beginning at last to share in the dreams which he has dreamed for them."

It is just to say that the whole peace movement throughout the world has been recognized and honored by the authorities of the French government in this action toward Mr. Passy.

**Future of our
Dependencies.**

One of the ablest addresses on the Philippine question made since the conflict in the islands began, and the new colonial police was entered upon, was that of Moorfield Storey of Boston before the Bar Association of South Carolina on the 16th of January. It has since been elaborated and published in a pamphlet of sixty pages. His treatment of the question is learned, thorough and exhaustive. We know of no other discussion of the subject which compares in fullness, clearness and cogency with this, unless possibly it be the last one delivered by Senator Hoar in the Senate, and one or two of the speeches of Hon. George S. Boutwell. Every aspect of the question is examined, and Mr. Storey's conclusion is that the only worthy and safe course before the nation is to give the islands their independence. He says at the close:

"When Guizot asked Lowell how long our republic would last, he replied, 'As long as the ideas of the men who founded it continue dominant.' They are the

foundation of our government, and whatever weakens them endangers it. We have learned how the republics of the ancient world successively fell, and we have seen the overthrow of a republic in France. To meet our problems here, to restrain the power of capital and the excesses of labor, we need a deeply rooted faith in our own institutions, a passionate love of justice. We cannot destroy the ideals of a nation; we cannot insist that the Declaration of Independence is wrong; we cannot govern millions of men outside the Constitution; we cannot hold a single Filipino, like Mabini, a prisoner without trial or sentence,—and hope to preserve in full strength that faith in the equal rights of men which is the soul of this nation. Every man who defends these things has begun to lose his belief; and, while years may elapse without a change in the external form of government, no one can tell when some crisis will find our people as glad to welcome a strong man as the French were to receive a new Napoleon. Let us remember that Dreyfus in his cage on Devil's Island, with the whole army against him, but with justice on his side, was strong enough to shake the French Republic. Let us cling fast to our faith, and regard him who would weaken it as an enemy to his country. The time will come, if this republic is to endure, when an overwhelming public sentiment will make itself felt, and we shall do what every true American in his heart would like to have his country do,—give the Filipinos their freedom, and thus regain that proud position among the nations of the world which we have lost, the moral leadership of mankind."

One can well imagine men standing in various parts of Macedonia and crying, "Come over into Macedonia and help us." The conditions in the land have become so bad under Turkish misrule and persecution that thousands of the people have fled for safety across the border into Bulgaria. The Macedonian population have been stirred to madness and have been threatening a great uprising. They have the active sympathy of the Bulgarians. The situation has become unendurable to the liberty-loving Macedonians, and, unless the Turkish oppression can be brought to an end by pacific measures, a cruel and devastating war is certain to come in the near future. Russia, Austria and the other powers have now intervened and sent a strong joint note to the Porte, demanding immediate reforms. These reforms are, of course, promised, but unless the powers press the case more vigorously and unselfishly than they have in the past, their action will only further protect and cover up the unspeakable cruelty of the Turkish government. It is now within the power of these strong governments to put a stop forever to the worst of the Ottoman outrages, and to do it without war; and if they do not do it, they will be guilty of the most shameful and criminal unfaithfulness, and will be certain in time to reap the bitter fruits of their selfish neglect and cowardice—in what form it is not profitable to predict.

**Gatling's
Death.**

Richard Jordan Gatling, inventor of the (in)famous gun which bears his name, died on February 26, at the age of nearly eighty-five. Dr. Gatling is reported to have said that he invented the gun "to make war impossible." But this was probably an afterthought, that came when he saw the fearful destructiveness of the instrument which he had put into the hands of fighting men. He was a born inventor, and probably thought out the gun just as he did a number of other mechanical devices, — that is, from the impulse and pleasure of inventing, from which he seems never to have been able to refrain. The Gatling gun has become a sort of general symbol for all that is deadliest in modern implements of war, and it is little wonder that its author came to desire to see war abolished. For every time he saw the thing whirling and spitting fire and steel at the rate of two hundred and fifty shots per minute, with power to kill men two miles away, he must have realized that he was a participant in all the deadly work of the gun on every battlefield. It is a wonder to us that he lived as long as he did, with this biting reflection always haunting his soul, for he was naturally a man of tender and gentle nature. Though he sold guns to every civilized government in the world, he seems finally not to have accumulated any money from it. It is very questionable whether such deadly instruments of war as the Gatling gun have any tendency to put an end to human butchery. So far there is little evidence in that direction.

**National
Glory.**

In discussing the subject of his proposal for a Peace Department in the National Cabinet, the distinguished Benjamin Rush, a friend and correspondent of Washington, said :

"In order more deeply to affect the minds of the citizens of the United States with the blessings of peace, by contrasting them with the evils of war, let the following inscriptions be painted on the sign which is placed over the door of the war office :

- "An office for butchering the human species.
- "A widow and orphan making office.
- "A broken bone making office.
- "A wooden leg making office.
- "An office for creating public and private vices.
- "An office for creating public debt.
- "An office for creating speculators, stock jobbers and bankrupts.
- "An office for creating famine.
- "An office for creating pestilential diseases.
- "An office for creating poverty — and for the destruction of liberty and national happiness.
- "In the lobby of the office let there be painted representations of the common military instruments of death, also human skulls, broken bones, unburied and putrefying dead bodies, hospitals crowded with sick and wounded soldiers, villages on fire, mothers in besieged cities eating

the flesh of their own children, ships sinking in the ocean, rivers dyed with blood, and extensive plains without a tree or fence, or any other object but the ruins of deserted farm houses.

"Above this group of woful figures, let the following words be inserted in red characters to represent human blood :

"NATIONAL GLORY."**The Wireless
Newspaper.**

It is difficult to imagine how anything can ever be discovered which will bring all parts of the world into more immediate contact with one another than wireless telegraphy. The ocean newspaper, which is already a fact, is sufficient proof of the statement. On the 7th of last month, when the passengers on the Cunard steamship "Etruria" came to breakfast they found each, neatly folded under the plates, and still damp from the press, a copy of the first edition of the first wireless newspaper. The little sheet contained a condensed statement of some of the world's most important doings for the last twenty-four hours. Reuter's agency had sent the news by the Marconi wireless telegraphy, and the little instrument on the "Etruria," slipping along over the sea at the rate of some twenty-five miles an hour, had ticked it off to the ears of the silent operator. The dispatches were turned over to the ship's printing outfit and came out a newspaper. Thirty-six hours later the same experiment was repeated on the steamship "Minneapolis." Verily, there is "no more sea." The future developments of the Marconi system, when there will be land stations at all important points of the earth's surface, and all the ships of the sea will carry wireless instruments, will be among the most marvelous of human accomplishments. Already thirty-five land stations have been established, and twenty-one ocean steamers and eighty-five warships fitted up with the wireless apparatus. Soon the great railway trains will have them, too. The unity of the world has thus moved up an enormous stride. It is, as we have said before, now no longer a dream, but one of the concrete realities. And we shall have peace, world-wide and permanent.

Brevities.

. . . A friend writes and asks if *sixteen* cases have already been referred to the Hague Court. No; only *two* cases as yet: the "Pious Fund" case between the United States and Mexico, and the Japanese "House Tax" case between Japan on one side and Great Britain, France and Germany on the other. The "Pious Fund" case was disposed of last fall; the other case is just being prepared for presentation to the three arbitrators already chosen from the Court.

. . . There is a movement for peace among the Christians of France, which has for its organ a paper entitled *L'Universel*, published at Havre.